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THE Carver Centenary;

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CELEBRATION,

BY THE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OF THE

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

COUNCIL AND TREATY OF CAPT. JONATHAN CARVER WITH THE NAUDOWESSIES, ON MAY 1, 1767, AT THE "GREAT CAVE," [NOW WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE CITY OF SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA.]

HELD MAY 1, 1867.

SAINT PAUL:
PIONEER PRINTING COMPANY.

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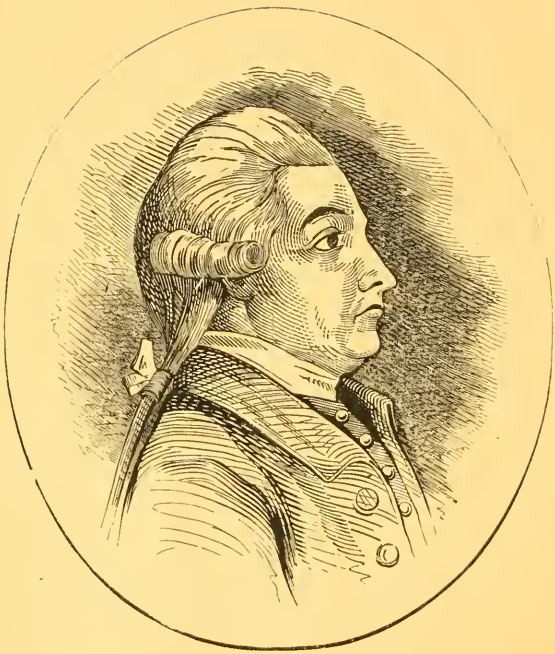

CAPT. JONATHAN CARVER.

[FROM A STEEL PORTRAIT IN THE THIRD EDITION OF HIS TRAVELS].

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TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES ORDERED PRINTED
BY THE SOCIETY.

PREFACE.

It having been resolved by the members of the Minnesota Historical Society, to celebrate the Centenary of Capt. Jonathan Carver's Treaty with the Naudowessies, in an appropriate manner, the following invitation was issued by the Secretary:

MAY 1, 1767. MAY 1, 1867.

[Portrait.]

THE CARVER CENTENARY.

ST. PAUL, April 30, 1867.

You are invited to join with the MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY in celebrating the

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

of Capt. Jonathan Carver's Council with the Indians in the "Great Cave" (now called Carver's Cave,) within the present limits of this city, on Wednesday, May 1, 1867.

The members will visit the cave at 4 o'clock P. M. At 8 o'clock P. M. a reunion will be held at the rooms of the Society, when a paper on Jonathan Carver will be read by Rev. JOHN MATTOCKS and other appropriate exercises take place.

By order of the Executive Council.

H. H. SIBLEY, President.

J. F. WILLIAMS, Secretary.

PART I.

THE VISIT TO THE CAVE.

In response to the foregoing invitation, and to notices of the Centenary celebration published in the daily journals, a number of the members of the Society assembled at the rooms at 4 o'clock P. M., Wednesday, May 1, 1867, in order to proceed to the cave in a body. Messrs. Cook & Webb, of the "Third Street Livery Stable," kindly furnished a four-horse omnibus for such as had not conveyances of their own, while a number proceeded to the spot on foot. Notwithstanding the weather was unseasonably inclement, the party enjoyed themselves finely. Jest, pun and repartee continually set the group in a roar.

Arriving at the Brewery, the party alighted, and accompanied by the rest of the pilgrims to the Shrine of Carver, who met us here, proceeded on foot down the bank of the river to the cave. Its entrance was soon reached, and after lighting their lanterns and candles, the party entered the sacred precincts of the *Wakan-Teebe*.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAVE.

Carver's description of the cave, made carelessly a century ago, is yet a fair picture of it. He says it is "a remarkable cave, of an amazing depth. The Indians term it *Wakan-Teebe* that is, the dwelling of the Great Spirit. The entrance into it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high, and about thirty feet broad. The bottom of it consists of fine, clear sand. About twenty feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends an unsearchable distance. I threw a small pebble towards the interior parts of it with my utmost strength. I could hear that it fell into the water, and caused an astonishing and horrible noise that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in the cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the walls, which were composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife, a stone every-

where to be found near the Mississippi. The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brink of the river," &c.

In the main, the above description is yet a faithful one.

The entrance to the cave, broad as it is, is now almost choked up by detritus from the bluff above, partly composed of masses of sandstone crumbled off by the frost, and partly of rubbish which the workmen in a stone quarry at the top of the bluff have thrown over. Still there is an easy and safe entrance in the upper corner of the mouth, along the bottom of which passage-way flows a stream of sparkling, pure water. The track of the Winona and Saint Paul Railway is graded along the bank of the river, a few feet in front of, and slightly lower than the mouth of the cave. Carver says that the cave was, at the time of his visit, "only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brink of the river." This was doubtless the case then, but the frosts and floods afterwards crumbled down the bank in front of it, so that the mouth of the cave can easily be seen from the river.

After entering the doorway of the cave, the ceiling suddenly expands, and rises to a dome of considerable height. Twenty-eight feet from the entrance ("about twenty," as Carver estimates it) "begins a lake," &c. Towards the mouth side it has a beautiful beach of white sand. From this side, the water gradually deepens towards the rear end of the cavern, until, at the farthest extremity, it is ten feet or more in depth, and so clear that a person sitting in one end of the boat may see the bottom by the light of a candle held over the other end. On all the sides of this lake (excepting the opening) the walls rise perpendicularly. They are stained with water to a height about five feet above the present waterline, showing that the lake must have risen to that height when the entrance was choked up as it was when Pike visited it in 1806.

At the outer edge of the lake the height of the roof, or inner side of the doorway arch, is about five feet, and the width about 40 feet. It soon grows a little wider, and the roof expands into a capacious dome. Its apex, as near as we could judge from the flickering lights, must be some 20 feet above the water. The widest part of the cave is about 50 feet from the landing, after which it gradually narrows to the end of the cave. It is everywhere high enough to permit

free movement of the boat without incommoding the occupant. The roof and walls are of the white sandstone, dry, and handsomely arched.

"Indian hieroglyphics," or pictographs, as mentioned by Carver, are still to be found on the walls, but whether the same ones that adorned the Wakan-Teebe when Jonathan visited it, or not, is difficult to say. A rude representation of a serpent, some three feet in length, is the most prominent sculpture on the walls. It is strenuously asserted by many antiquarians to be the seal, or family coat of arms of *Otoh-ton-goom lish-eaw*, whose signature to the great deed was a representation of a snake. Others say it is not Indian, but evidently the work of a white man. If so, it must have been done a long time ago, as our oldest settlers say it was there when they first visited the cave.

The distance from the edge of the water to the extreme end of the cave, is about 112 feet. Long (in his "Journal of a Skiff Voyage," published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1860,) says that "the distance from its entrance to its inner extremity is 24 paces," but adds, "the cavern was once probably much more extensive."

From the entrance of the cave, the extreme end would not be visible, as it bends considerably to the left. About half way up the cave, on the west side, is seen a small low grotto. Through this low opening there is a connection with Dayton's Cave,* a few hundred feet up the river, and water flows from one into the other.

The temperature of the cave is about 50°, at which figure it remains summer and winter, irrespective of the external heat or cold, scarcely changing a degree.

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* "Dayton's Cave," is strictly not a cave at all. It is a hollow space under a large shelving rock. It has been walled up in front, and was used for many years as a vegetable cellar. Latterly it has been used as a bottling vault for ale and ginger pop. At the rear of the cave is a pool of clear cold water, like that in Carver's Cave, but much smaller. This fact has probably caused Dayton's Cave to be mistaken as the real Carver's Cave. Miss Bishop, in her "*Floral Homes*," (page 25) and Neill, in his "*History of Minnesota*," (page 208) fall into this error.

THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE CAVE.

There were no formal ceremonies within the cave. As soon as the party could light their torches, the cave was thoroughly explored. A small boat was found moored to the shore, capable of holding a couple of persons at a time, and the visitors, two at a time, embarked, and paddled up the cavern, one rowing, and the other holding a lantern at the bow for a head light.

When at the extreme rear end of the cavern, one of the party sang a song, the echoes of which were remarkable. We could well conceive how the pebble thrown by Carver "caused an astonishing and horrible noise that reverberated through all those gloomy regions."

The flashing of the lights held by the party, and their reflected gleam in the clear water of the pool—the ghost-like appearance of the visitors as they moved about bearing their lights above their heads—made a weird scene quite in character with the sacredness of the spot, while the hollow echoes of the song and laughter, and loud voices of the party, seemed to profane the awful mysteries of this "Dwelling of the Great Spirit." We almost expected to see the spirits of Carver, and *Haw-no-paw-gat-an*, and *Otoh-ton-goom-lish-caw*, and their compeers, the makers of the deed and treaty on that grand council day a hundred years ago, start from the dark walls of the cave, and reprove us for our levity and ill-timed merriment and rude noise. But those worthies were by no means forgotten on our centenary visit. A toast to the memory of the adventurous Carver was drunk by each visitor present, in a bumper of that same cold, clear, refreshing water that Carver and his fellow councilors drank on that bright May day morning a hundred years ago. Our imaginations almost pictured Carver seated in the cave, with his dusky friends around him, making the speech which he records, or drawing up and explaining to the Indians the famous deed to which they affixed their marks. And as we quaffed the pellucid liquid our thoughts leaped across the eventful century that has passed since then—a century more crowded with great events than any that has preceded it—that gave birth to our great nation, and saw it rise to an acme of power and greatness scarce surpassed in the history of the world. We thought too, of the future, of the mighty changes that another hundred years must produce.

A century ago, the Wakan-Teebe and the rude Indian huts. To-day, around the same spot, are the homes of 20,000 people, the spires of other temples more fit for "the dwelling of the Great Spirit," the institutions of a higher civilization than the Naudowessies knew of.

A century hence, when our descendants, and our successors in the Historical Society celebrate the Carver Bi-Centenary, what changes will they too, witness? We can scarce imagine them! Who will be celebrating this anniversary then, and how? Who will fill our places then?

Who'll press for gold yon crowded street,
A hundred years to come?
Who'll tread our paths with weary feet,
A hundred years to come?
Pale trembling age, and fiery youth,
And childhood with its heart of truth,
The rich, the poor, on land and sea—
Where will the mighty millions be,
A hundred years to come?
Then other men our lands will till
And others then our places fill,
While other hearts will beat as gay,
And bright the sunshine as to day,
A hundred years to come.

As we emerged from the cave, awed into silence by these impressive thoughts, the noble steamer Itasca passed up the river, her deep-toned whistle, heralding her approach to the city, waking the echoes of the bluffs and vales. The scream and roar of a locomotive near by answered her signal. How this would have startled Carver and his dusky companions if they had come unheralded at their council on that historic day a century ago! Even Carver's prophetic soul, which predicted the overland route for the northwest passage, and saw with the eye of faith "mighty kingdoms emerge from the wilderness, and stately palaces and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching the skies, supplant the Indian huts whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies," had not foreseen the car, and steamer, and telegraph traversing the wilderness, the mightiest agencies in the work of making it blossom as the rose.

Reluctantly we terminated our centenary visit, to meet again at the cave, in the persons of our descendants and successors, on May 1, 1967, hoping that those who celebrate that day may enjoy the event as much as we did the First Centennial Meeting in Carver's Cave.

PART II.

THE RE-UNION IN THE EVENING.

The members of the Historical Society assembled at 8 o'clock in the evening at the rooms of the society, to participate in the Literary Exercises of the Centenary Celebration There was an unusually full attendance of members, together with a number of invited guests.

In the absence of the President, Rev. S. Y. McMasters was called to the chair.

Rev. John Mattocks then read a paper on "The Life and Travels of Jonathan Carver," which was listened to with great interest by the members present. At its conclusion, on motion of Hon. A. Goodrich, a copy of the paper was requested for the use of the Society.

Some time was then spent in discussing the subject of Carver's explorations, and the incidents of the visit to the cave in the afternoon.

Col. Wm. H. Nobles then, by invitation of the Society, read a paper on "The Ancient Indian Mounds and Fortifications of the North West." On motion, a copy of the same was requested for preservation in the archives of the society.

Regret having been expressed by some of the members present that the funds of the Society would not warrant the outlay necessary to print in pamphlet form an account of the Centenary proceedings, Geo. W. Fahnestock, Esq., of Philadelphia, an Honorary Member of the Society, who was present, generously offered to bear the expense of such publication, should the Society see fit to order the same. *

On motion of Rev. John Mattocks, it was

Resolved, That the very generous and liberal offer of Mr. Fahnestock be accepted, and that the thanks of the Society be tendered to him for the same. And the Secretary is hereby instructed to prepare an account of the celebration, and secure its publication in pamphlet form.

On motion, adjourned.

J. F. WILLIAMS, Sec.

* It is but due to Mr. Fahnestock to state that the celebration of the Anniversary was first suggested by him, and after it was resolved on by the Society, its success was in a great measure owing to the interest he took in it, and his efforts to render it interesting and creditable.

J. F. W.

THE LIFE AND EXPLORATIONS OF JONATHAN CARVER.

BY REV. JOHN MATTOCKS.

We are met this evening to celebrate, in an appropriate manner, an event of no ordinary interest, an event which occurred a century ago, a date anterior even to the birth of our nation, and fully half a century prior to the settlement of this State by white men. This is the first time, since the organization of our Society, that we have been called on to celebrate the anniversary of any event connected with the early history of Minnesota, and the spirit with which the members have enlisted in this matter shows that it is regarded as an event of more than ordinary interest.

It is peculiarly appropriate that this Society should have commemorated that event. We are organized to collect, and preserve, and disseminate a knowledge of the early history of our State and the North West. Our State is so young, that it has but little history since its settlement by white men. One of the principal portions of our work, therefore, is to preserve the records of its early explorers. Hennepin, Perrot, Duluth, St. Pierre and LeSueur, have all been made familiar to the readers of our publications. But Jonathan Carver, who deserves a place as prominent as any, has never been so honored. Indeed, it is remarkable how little, generally, is known of Carver. This may be accounted for, however, from the fact that copies of his work are very rare.

I have, therefore, in the paper on the Life and Travels of Jonathan Carver, which at your request I now read, given more full extracts from Carver's works than might otherwise have been necessary, in order to reproduce the text of the original, and also allow Carver to tell his own story, which he does in a clear, entertaining and vivid manner. I might mention here that Carver is one of the most entertaining of writers. His style is easy, plain and forcible. His work possesses almost the interest of a romance. Yet, although many of Carver's statements have been discredited, Carver was no romancer. Every page bears the impress of truth and candor. Although somewhat familiar with the contents of his work years ago,

yet when I read it critically in preparing this paper, I was singularly struck with the remarkable prophecies he makes, and his sagacious views in regard to the future of the wilderness he traversed. Viewed in the light of a century later, there are some really remarkable passages in his work, stamping him as a man of no ordinary mind and sagacity. That he was an acute and close observer, an industrious student of ethnology, and a careful discriminating journalist, his chapters on the Indian races, and the natural history of the North West, must prove to even the casual reader. But I must pass without farther preface to the subject of this paper.

[In presenting the facts of the life and explorations of Mr. Carver, I am wholly indebted to J. Fletcher Williams, Esq., our indefatigable and devoted Secretary, for selection, compilation and arrangement. The larger portion is found in an article prepared by him a year since, for the St. Paul PIONEER.]

MEMOIR OF CARVER.

Jonathan Carver was a grandson of William Joseph Carver, of Wigan, in Lancashire, England, who was a captain in the army under King William, and served in the campaign against Ireland with such distinguished reputation, that the prince was pleased to reward him with the government of the Colony of Connecticut, in New England. Jonathan was born in 1732, at Stillwater (or Canterbury,) Conn His father, who was a Justice of the Peace, died when he was 15 years of age. It was designed to educate him for a physician, but his spirit of enterprise and adventure could not brook the close study necessary to acquire the profession, and he chose the army instead. He therefore purchased an ensigncy in a Connecticut regiment, and soon, by good conduct, rose to the command of a company during the "French War." In the year 1757, he was present at the massacre of Fort William Henry, and narrowly escaped with his life.

CARVER'S OBJECT IN MAKING THE JOURNEY.

Having served through the war with credit and distinction, the peace of Versailles, in 1763, left Capt. Carver without occupation. It was then that Carver conceived the project of exploring the newly acquired possessions of Great Britain in the North West. In the preface to his book he says:

No sooner was the late war with France concluded, and peace established by the Treaty of Versailles in the year 1763, than I began to consider (having rendered my country some service during the war) how I might continue still serviceable, and continue, as much as lay in my power, to make that vast acquisition of territory, gained by Great Britain, in North America, advantageous to it. It appeared to me indispensably needful, that Government should be acquainted in the first place with the true state of the dominions they were now become possessed of. To this purpose I determined, as the next proof of my zeal, to explore the most unknown parts of them, and to spare no trouble or expense in acquiring a knowledge that promised to be so useful to my countrymen. I knew that many obstructions would arise to my scheme from the want of good maps and charts. * * * These difficulties, however, were not sufficient to deter me from the undertaking, and I made preparations for setting out. What I chiefly had in view, after gaining a knowledge of the Manners, Customs, Languages, Soil, and Productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, was to ascertain the breadth of that vast Continent, which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in the broadest part between 43 and 46 degrees Northern Latitude. Had I been able to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to Government to establish a post in some of those parts about the Straits of Annian, which having been first discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belong to the English. This, I am convinced, would greatly facilitate the discovery of a North West passage, or a communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean, an event so desirable, and which has been so often sought for, but without success. Besides this important end, a settlement on that territory of America would answer many good purposes, and repay every expense the establishment of it might occasion. For it would not only disclose new sources of trade, and promote many useful discoveries, but would open a passage for conveying intelligence to China, and English Settlements in the East Indies, with greater expedition than a tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straits of Magellan will allow of. That the completion of the scheme I have had the honor of first planning and attempting will sometime or other be effected, I make no doubt. Whenever it is, and the execution of it carried on with propriety, those who are so fortunate as to succeed will reap, exclusive of the national advantages that must ensue, emoluments beyond their most sanguine expectations, and whilst their spirits are elated by their success, perhaps they may bestow some commendation and blessings on the person that first pointed out to them the way.

HE SETS OUT ON HIS TRAVELS.

Carver set out on his journey from Boston, in June, 1766. He proceeded to Mackinaw, then the most distant British post, arriving in August.

"Having here (he says) made the necessary dispositions for pursuing my travels, and obtained a credit from Mr. Rogers, the Governor, on some English and Canadian traders who were going to trade on the Mississippi, and received also from him a promise of a fresh supply of goods when I reached the Falls of St. Anthony, I left the Fort on the 3d of Sept., in company with these traders. It was agreed that

they should furnish me with such goods as I might want for presents to the Indian Chiefs during my continuance with them, agreeable to the Governor's order."

Carver pursued the usual route to Green Bay, ascended the Fox River, made the Portage to the Wisconsin and descending that stream, entered the Mississippi on October 15. The traders who were with him left him at Prairie du Chien, opposite to which village at "Yellow River," they took up their quarters. Carver here "bought a canoe, and with two servants, one a French Canadian, and the other a Mohawk of Canada," started up the Mississippi River.

HIS VOYAGE UP THE MISSISSIPPI.

Some miles below Lake Pepin, Carver writes, he found a remarkable fortification, which he thought to be very ancient. It was planned and constructed with considerable engineering ability. On the first of November he arrived at Lake Pepin. This lake he describes at some length, in language florid and poetical—yet his general description of that truly lovely sheet of water is correct and faithful. He observed in one place, he writes—"the ruins of a French factory, where it is said Capt. St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies before the reduction of Canada."

CARVER EXPLORES THE CAVE AT ST. PAUL.

We have now followed Carver on his journey until he reaches the Cave to which we paid a visit to-day. He thus speaks of it in his work:

About thirty miles below the Falls of Saint Anthony, at which I arrived the tenth day after I left Lake Pepin, is a remarkable cave, of an amazing depth. The Indians term it Wakan Teebe, that is, the dwelling of the Great Spirit. The entrance into it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high, and about thirty feet broad. The bottom of it consists of fine clear sand. About twenty feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends to an unsearchable distance; for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it. I threw a small pebble towards the interior parts of it with my utmost strength: I could hear that it fell into the water, and notwithstanding it was of so small a size, it caused an astonishing and horrible noise, that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the

inside of the walls, which were composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife; a stone everywhere to be found near the Mississippi. The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow steep passage that lies near the brink of the river.

At a little distance from this dreary cavern, is the burying place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians: though these people have no fixed residence, living in tents, and abiding but a few months on one spot, yet they always bring the bones of their dead to this place; which they take the opportunity of doing, when the chiefs meet to hold their councils, and to settle all public affairs for the ensuing summer.

This was Carver's first visit to the now celebrated Cave. After leaving it he proceeded on to St. Anthony's Falls, which he minutely describes in his volume of travels, accompanying it by a copperplate engraving from a drawing made by himself on November 17, 1766. He afterwards took a short trip up the Mississippi River as far as the "St. Francis River," beyond which point, he says, it had never been explored, and thus far only by Father Hennepin and himself.

HE PROPOSES A SHIP CANAL FROM THE RIVER TO THE LAKES.

Carver here makes a somewhat remarkable suggestion in favor of a ship canal, connecting the Mississippi with the Lakes. He says:

As this river is not navigable from the sea for vessels of any considerable burthen, much higher than the forks of the Ohio—and even that is accomplished with difficulty—those settlements that may be made on the interior branches of it, must be indisputably secure from the attacks of any maratime power. But at the same time the settlers will have the advantage of being able to convey their produce to the seaports with great facility, the current of the river from its source to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico, being extremely favorable for doing this in a small craft. This might also, in time, be facilitated by canals or shorter cuts, and a communication opened by water with New York, Canada, &c., by way of the lakes.

This project of a ship canal from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan has by no means been abandoned, but is still agitated actively and may be yet accomplished. Carver did not however, foresee the introduction of railroads, which had proved a more valuable channel for commerce than Carver's canal and his projected overland route to the Indies.

HIS JOURNEY UP THE ST. PETER RIVER.

On the 25th of November Carver returned to his canoe, which he "had left at the mouth of the River St. Pierre" [Minnesota] and ascended that stream. About 40 miles from its mouth he says he "arrived at a small branch that fell into it from the north," to which as it had no name that he could distinguish it by, he called "Carver's River," which name it bears to this day.

HE WINTERS AMONG THE NAUDOWESSIES.

On the 7th of December he arrived at the most westerly limit of his travels, and as he could proceed no farther that season, spent the winter, a period of seven months, among a band of Naudowessies encamped near what is now New Ulm. He says he learned their language so as to converse in it intelligibly, and was treated by them with great hospitality. In the spring, he returned to the cave. His account of this is as follows:

THE RETURN TO THE GREAT CAVE.

I left the habitations of these hospitable Indians the latter end of April, 1767, but did not part from them for several days, as I was accompanied on my journey by near three hundred of them, among whom were many chiefs, to the mouth of the River Saint Pierre. At this season these bands annually go to the great cave before mentioned, to hold a grand council with all the other bands, wherein they settle their operations for the ensuing year. At the same time they carry with them their dead for interment, bound up in buffalo skins.

It was on this visit to the cave that Carver made the alleged Treaty with the Indians, and received from them the celebrated deed of land. His account of it is as follows:

When we arrived at the Great Cave, and the Indians had deposited the remains of their deceased friends in the burial-place that stands adjacent to it, they held their great council, into which I was admitted and at the same time had the honor to be installed and adopted a chief of their bands. On this occasion I made the following speech which was delivered on the first day of May, 1767:

CARVER'S SPEECH TO THE INDIANS

"My Brothers, Chiefs of the numerous and powertul Naudowessies! I rejoice that through my long abode with you, I can now speak to you (though after an imperfect manner) in your own tongue, like one of your own children. I rejoice also that I have had an opportunity so frequently to inform you of the glory and power of the Great King that reigns over the English and other nations; who is descended from a very ancient race of sovereigns, as old as the earth and the waters; whose feet stand upon two great islands, larger than any you have ever seen, amidst the greatest waters in the world, whose head reaches to the sun, and whose arms en circle the whole earth; the number of whose warriors is equal to the trees in the valleys, the stalks of rice in yonder marshes, and the blades of grass on your great plains, who has hundreds of canoes of his own, of such amazing bigness, that all the waters in your country would not suffice for one of them to swim in, each of which have great guns, not small like mine, which you see before you, but of such magnitude, that a hundred of your stoutest young men would with difficulty be able to carry one. And they are equally surprizing in their operation against the King's enemies when engaged in battle; the terror they carry with them, your language lacks words to express. You may remember the other day when we were encamped at Wadapaw-menesoter, the black clouds, the wind, the fire,

the stupendous noise, the horrible cracks, and the tumbling of the earth which then alarmed you, and gave you reason to think your gods were angry with you; not unlike these are the warlike implements of the English when they are fighting the battles of their great King.

Several of the chiefs of your bands have often told me in times past, when I dwelt with you in your tents, that they much wished to be counted among the children and the allies of the great King, my master.

You may remember how often you have desired me, when I return again to my own country, to acquaint the great King of your good disposition towards him and his subjects, and that you wished for traders from the English to come among you.

Being now about to take my leave of you, and to return to my own country, a long way toward the rising sun, I again ask you to tell me whether you continue of the same mind as when I spoke to you in council last winter; and as there are now several of your chiefs here who came from the great plains toward the setting of the sun, whom I have never spoken with in council before, I ask you to let me know if you are willing to acknowledge yourselves the children of my great master, the King of the English.

I charge you not to give heed to bad reports, for there are wicked birds flying about among the neighboring nations who may whisper evil things in your ears against the English, contrary to what I have told you; you must not believe them, for I have told you the truth.

As for the Chiefs that are about to go to Michilimackinac, I shall take care to make for them and their suits a straight road, smooth waters, and a clear sky, that they may go there and smoke the pipe of peace, and rest secure on a beaver blanket under the shade of the great tree of peace. Farewell!"

Whether any such grandiloquent speech as the above was really made by Carver on the occasion or not, has frequently been doubted. It is probable, however, that he made them a short address, in such broken Dakota as he could command.

"To this speech [he continues] I received the following answer, from the mouth of the principal Chief:"

THE REPLY.

Good brother! I am now about to speak to you with the mouths of these my brothers, chiefs of the eight bands of the powerful nation of the Naudowessies. We believe, and are well satisfied in the truth of everything you have told us about your great nation, and the great King our greatest father; for whom we spread this beaver blanket, that his fatherly protection may ever rest easy and safe amongst us, his children; your colors and your arms agree with the accounts you have given us about your great nation. We desire that when you return, you will acquaint the great King how much the Naudowessies wish to be counted among his good children. You may believe us when we tell you that we will not open our ears to any one who may dare to speak evil of our Great Father the King of the English and other nations.

We thank you for what you have done for us in making peace between the Naudowessies and the Chippewas, and hope when you return to us again, that you will complete this good work; and quite dispelling the clouds that intervene, open the blue sky of peace, and cause the bloody hatchet to be deep buried under the roots of the great tree of peace.

We wish you to remember to represent to our Great Father how much we desire that traders may be sent to abide among us, with such things as we need, that the hearts of our young men, our wives, and children may be made glad. And may peace subsist between us, so long as the sun, the moon, the earth, and the waters shall endure. Farewell!

THE PURPORTED DEED.

At this council was given the famous deed of land to Carver, which reads as follows:

To Jonathan Carver, a Chief under the most mighty and potent George the Third, King of the English, and other nations, the fame of whose warriors has reached our ears, and has been now fully told to us by our *good brother Jonathan*, aforesaid, whom we rejoice to see come among us, and bring us good news from his country.

We, Chiefs of the Naudowessies, who have hereto set our seals, do by these presents, for ourselves and heirs forever, in return for the many presents and other good services done by the said Jonathan to ourselves and allies, give, grant and convey to him, the said Jonathan, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the whole of a certain tract or territory of land, bounded as follows, viz.: From the Falls of St. Anthony, running on the East bank of the Mississippi, nearly Southeast, as far as the South end of Lake Pepin, where the Chippewa river joins the Mississippi, and from thence Eastward, five days travel, accounting twenty English miles per day, and from thence North six days travel, at twenty English miles per day, and from thence again to the Falls of St. Anthony, on a direct straight line. We do, for ourselves, heirs, and assigns, forever, give unto the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns forever, all the said lands, with all the trees, rocks, and rivers therein, reserving the sole liberty of hunting and fishing on land not planted or improved by the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns, to which we have affixed our respective seals.

At the Great Cave,
May 1st, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

HAW-NO-PAW-GAT-AN, his ⋊ mark.
(picture of a Beaver.)
OTOH-TON GOOM-LISH-EAW, his ⋊ mark,
(picture of a snake.)

It is a somewhat singular fact that Carver nowhere mentions this deed in his writings. Why its existence was suppressed by him, can only be conjectured. It seems not to have been made public until after his death. John Coakley Lettsom, who wrote the biography of Carver for the third edition of his travels, says he had the original deed in his possession. We will farther trace the history of this deed, after concluding our account of Carver.

HE RETURNS HOME.

Whilst he tarried at the mouth of the River St. Pierre [he says] he endeavored to learn whether the goods which the governor at Michillimacinac had promised to forward him, had arrived. Learn-

ing they had not, he was obliged to abandon all hopes of proceeding farther westward, and returned to Prairie du Chien.

Here procuring a small supply of goods, he proceeded to Lake Superior, and spent some time in exploring that region, returning to Boston by way of Sault St. Marie, Detroit, and Niagara Falls. He arrived in Boston in October, 1768, "having been absent from it on this expedition two years and five months, and during that time travelled near 7000 miles."

CARVER'S SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

Carver soon after sailed for England. Of his purposes and movements there, we will let him be his own historian:

> On my arrival in England, I presented a petition to his Majesty in council praying for a reimbursement of those sums I had expended in the service of the Government. This was referred to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. Their Lordships, from the tenor of it, thought the intelligence I could give of so much importance to the nation that they ordered me to appear before the Board. This message I obeyed, and underwent a long examination, much, I believe, to the satisfaction of every Lord present. When it was finished, I requested to know what I should do with my papers. Without hesitation, the first Lord replied, that I might publish them whenever I pleased.
>
> In consequence of this permission, I disposed of them to a bookseller; but when they were nearly ready for the press, an order was issued from the council board, requiring me to deliver, without delay, into the Plantation Office, all my Charts and Journals, with every paper relative to the discoveries I had made. In order to obey the command, I was obliged to repurchase them from the bookseller, at a very great expense, and deliver them up. This fresh disbursement I endeavored to get annexed to the account I had already delivered in, but the request was denied me, notwithstanding I had only acted in the disposal of my papers, conformably to the permission I had received from the Board of Trade. This loss, which amounted to a very considerable sum, I was obliged to bear, and to rest satisfied with an indemnification for my other expenses.

Having expended all his private fortune in his explorations and other expenses, Carver was compelled to make a new abstract of his Journals (which fortunately he had preserved) and publish them, in order to reimburse himself. * It is hardly possible that he realised much money from his book, as we hear of him a few months after this, in very indigent circumstances. His health also declined. In 1779, he secured a position as clerk in a lottery office, from the gains of which he eked out a scanty subsistence for a few months. Dis-

* Carver also published, A Treatise on the Culture of the Tobacco Plant. Lon. 1779, 8vo. The New Universal Traveller, Lon. 1779, folio. This is not his own production, but he is said to have lent his name to it. [Allibone's Dict. of Authors.]

case soon ensued, however, and he actually died of want* in London, January 31, 1780, aged 48 years.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE PURPORTED DEED.

Carver, as we before mentioned does not speak in his work of the deed said to have been given May 1, 1767. It was not until after his death that it was brought to light. Carver had married during his sojourn in England (although he had a wife and five daughters in Connecticut at the time) and by this second wife had one daughter, named Martha. She was raised by Sir Richard and Lady Pearson. When she grew up, she eloped with, and married a sailor, whose name seems to be now unknown. A mercantile firm in London, thinking that money could be made by securing the title to the alleged grant, secured from the penniless couple, a few days after their marriage, a conveyance of the grant to them, for the consideration of one tenth the profits. The merchants dispatched an agent named Clark to go to the Dakotas, and obtain a new deed, but on the way Clark was murdered in New York, and the speculation for the time fell through.

In the year 1794, the heirs of Carver's American wife, in consideration of £50,000, conveyed their interest in the Carver Grant, to Edward Houghton, of Vermont. In the year 1806, Rev. Samuel Peters,† who had been a Tory during the Revolutionary war, alleged, in a petition to Congress, that he had also purchased of the heirs of Carver, their right to the grant.

In 1821, Gen. Leavenworth, pursuant to a request of the Commissioner of the Land Office, enquired of the Dakotas in relation to the grant, and reported that the land alleged to be granted "lies on the East side of the Mississippi." The Indians do not recognise or acknowledge the grant to be valid and they, among others, assign the following reasons:

1. The Sioux of the Plains never owned a foot of land on the East side of the Mississippi. * *

2. The Indians say they have no knowledge of any such Chiefs, as those who signed the grant. They say if Capt. Carver did ever obtain a deed or grant, it was signed by some foolish young men

* It was owing to Dr. Lettsom's account of his sufferings and ill requited labors for the English Government, that the literary fund was established. [Allibone's Dict. of Authors.]

† See "Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society for 1864," p. 28.

who were not Chiefs, and who were not authorised to make a grant. Among the Sioux of the River there are no such names. *

3. They say the Indians never received anything for the land, and they have no intention to part with it without a consideration. * *

4. They have, and ever have had, the possession of the land and intend to keep it. * * * * *

On January 23, 1823, the Committee on Public Lands, reported to the Senate on the claim of Carver's heirs, at some length. They argue that the purported grant has no binding effect on the United States, and give very satisfactory and conclusive reasons therefor, at too great length, however, to include in this paper. The prayer of the petitioners was therefore not granted.

It is certain that Carver's American heirs always supposed, (and are said to this day to assert) that they had a good title to the grant in question. Some of them have visited Saint Paul in their investigations of the subject. Two of these visits are mentioned in history.

Maj. Stephen H. Long, U. S. A., in his journal of "A Voyage in a Six oared Skiff to the Falls of St. Anthony, in 1817," [published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1860,] says:

There sailed also in company with us, two gentlemen from New York, by the name of King and Gun, who are grandsons of Capt. J. Carver, the celebrated traveler. They were on their way northward, on a visit to the Sauteurs, for the purpose of establishing their claims to a tract of land granted by those Indians to their grandfather.

After his return to Prairie du Chien, Long writes:

Last evening Messrs. Gun and King arrived at the Prairie from the Falls of St. Anthony. Whether they accomplished the object of their trip, viz.: to establish their claim to the tract of country ceded by the Indians to their grandfather Carver, I had no time to enquire, but presume there is no ground for supposing they did, as they before told me they could find but one Indian who had any knowledge of the transaction, or was in the least disposed to recognise the grant. That they do not consider the cession obligatory upon them is very evident, from their having ceded to the United States, through the negotiations of Pike, two parcels of the same tract specified in the grant in favor of Carver.

Miss Harriet E. Bishop, too, in her work "Floral Home; or First Years of Minnesota," speaks thus of the visit of another of Capt. Carver's heirs:

In 1848, Dr. Hartwell Carver visited the region which had been the theatre of his grandfather's adventures. He came as claimant of the soil—

* Carver only once in the body of his work mentions the chiefs whose signature and "family coat of arms" are appended to the deed. On page 380, speaking of Indian nomenclature he says: Thus, the great warrior of the Naudowessies was named Ottahtongoomlisheah, that is the Great Father of Snakes; ottah being in English father, tongoom great, and lisheah a snake Another chief was called Honahpawjatin, which means, a swift runner over the mountains.

his claims being predicated on a title to one hundred miles square, ceded to the former by the two head chiefs of the Dakota nation. This conveyance of land was claimed to have been ratified by George III.

Miss Bishop states that Dr. Carver was sanguine of obtaining a recognition by Congress of the rights of the heirs to compensation for the land said to have been ceded to their ancestor.

Numerous deeds for portions of the land were made at various times by Carver's heirs or their assignees. In 1849, and a few years subsequent, when real estate agents throve in the infant city of St. Paul, very many of these deeds were received by land dealers here, to "locate." Several of them are among the MSS. in the Library of this Society.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE CAVE.

After the visit of Carver, the cave remained unentered by the white man for nearly half a century. Pike tried to find it in 1806. He says:

SATURDAY, 12TH APRIL. Embarked early: Although my interpreter had been frequently up the river, he could not tell me where the cave, spoken of by Carver, could be found: we carefully sought for it, but in vain.

Maj. Long, in 1817, was more successful. He says:

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16. Two miles above the village [Little Crow's] on the same side of the river, is Carver's Cave. However interesting it may have been, it does not possess that character in a very high degree at present. We descended it with lighted candles to its lowest extremity. The entrance is very low, and about 8 feet broad, so that a man in order to enter it must be completely prostrate. The angle of descent within the cave is about 25°. The flooring is an inclined plane of quick-sand, formed of the rock in which the cavern is formed. The distance from its entrance to its inner extremity is 24 paces, the width in the broadest part about 9, and its greatest height about 7 feet. In shape it resembles a baker's oven. The cavern was once probably much more extensive. My interpreter informed me that, since his remembrance, the entrance was not less than 10 feet high, and its length far greater than at present.

Maj. Long then visited Fountain Cave, which is thought by some to be the real Carver Cave. He thus refutes this theory:

This cavern, as I was informed by my interpreter, has been discovered but a few years; that the Indians living in its neighborhood knew nothing of it till within six years past. That it is not the same as that described by Carver is evident, not only from this circumstance, but also from the circumstance that instead of a stagnant pool, and only one accessible room of a very different form, this cavern has a brook running through it, and at least four rooms in succession, one after the other. Carver's Cave is fast filling up with sand, so that no water is now to be found in it, whereas this, from the very nature of the place, must be enlarging, as the fountain will carry along with its current all the sand that falls into it from the sides and roof of the cavern.

Featherstonhaugh, the Geologist, next visits it in 1835. He says:

SEPTEMBER 11. "About 5 P. M. we came up with a bluff of incoherent sand-stone about 180 feet high, like that on the Wisconsin. The Indians say that there was formerly a large cave here, but that the rock fell in and covered it up. I landed and endeavored to trace some vestige of the cave, but in vain, a talus of hundreds of tons of fallen rock covering the entire slope."

Nicollet also visited the cave in 1837. In his report * to Congress, he says:

The second [cave] four miles below the former is that described by Carver. Its entrance has been, for more than thirty years, closed by the disintegrated debris of the lime-stone capping the sand-stone in which it is located. On the 3d of July, 1837, with the assistance of Messrs. Campbell and Quinn, the former an interpreter for the Sioux, the latter for the Chippewas, I set about clearing this entrance, which, by the bye was no easy work, for on the 5th we were about abandoning the job, when, unexpectedly, we found that we had made an opening into it; and although we had not entirely disencumbered it of its rubbish, I saw enough to satisfy me of the accuracy of Carver's description. The lake mentioned by him is there; but I could see only a segment of the cave, a portion of the roof being too near the surface of the water to enable me to proceed any farther. A Chippewa warrior made a long harangue on the occasion; throwing his knife into the lake, as an offering to *Wakan-Tibi*, the spirit of the grottoes. * * * On the high grounds above the cave there were some Indian mounds, to which the Indians belonging to the tribe of M'dewakantons formerly transported the bones of the deceased members of their families.

Carver appears to have been sanguine that the region which he traversed, would ultimately become populous and wealthy. This belief appears in numerous passages. His prophesy concerning an overland route of trade and commercial travel has already been quoted. That Carver certainly believed that this was to be the future course of trade is evident from the fact that after his return to England he interested Richard Whitworth, a member of Parliament, in the matter, and they found a plan to establish a trading post near the head waters of the Missouri and Oregon. The Revolutionary war prevented any accomplishment of their scheme. Carver nevertheless assures his readers of the great future of the North West. He says:

To what power or authority this new world will become dependant, after it has arisen from its present uncultivated state, time alone can discover. But as the seat of Empire from time immemorial has been gradually progressive towards the west, there is no doubt but that at some future period, *mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately palaces and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching the skies, supplant the Indian huts, whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies.*

* Report intended to illustrate a map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River, made by I. N. Nicollet, Jan. 11, 1845.

A century has passed since Carver's visit here, and his ardent anticipations are realised. From the wilderness have indeed emerged "mighty kingdoms,"—vigorous, rich, growing states of the North West, each well termed an "*imperium in imperio*," mighty already in size and rich in undeveloped resources. In an hundred cities the "stately palaces" and "solemn temples" with "gilded spires" are seen, while the Indian race, whose huts stood on their site, are now almost "supplanted" by another race.

This progress from the wilderness to the rich and populous commonwealth—the incidents of the development and the history of the actions in the drama, it is our task to record; "to gather from still living witnesses and preserve for the future annalist, the important records of the teeming and romantic past;" to let nothing escape that may show to future generations the form and pressure of our own times.

To this duty let us address ourselves with renewed diligence, and while "toiling in the mines of history, gathering its pure ore," not forget to do justice to the memory of the early explorers of this region, so prominent among whom was the subject of this centenary celebration, *Jonathan Carver*.

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